

*34*  
INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

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47-48

CONFIDENTIAL

Action

Control: 3027  
Rec'd: Dec. 6, 1961  
6:58 AM

FE  
Info

FROM: DJAKARTA

SS

TO: Secretary of State

G

NO: 1006, DECEMBER 5, 4 PM

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 1006, INFORMATION CINCPAC 130, LONDON 52,  
MOSCOW 13, THE HAGUE 56, CANBERRA 44.

INDIAN AMBASSADOR PANT INFORMED ME TODAY HIS READING  
OF AIDIT RECENT STATEMENT STRADDLING DE-STALINIZATION ISSUE  
AND IMPLIED CRITICISM SOVIET RUSSIA FOR WASHING  
LINEN IN PUBLIC WAS THAT PKI WAS MAKING BASIC READJUSTMENT  
IN POSTURE AND LINING UP WITH COMMUNIST CHINA AS AGAINST  
SOVIET UNION. HE PRESUMED THIS WAS IN RESPONSE TO INTERNAL  
PRESSURES WITHIN PARTY.

THE CONCLUSION REPRESENTED HIS VIEW AFTER EXTENSIVE  
CONVERSATION WITH SOVIET AMBASSADOR, HUNGARIAN AMBASSADOR  
AND YUGOSLAV AMBASSADOR, AMONG OTHERS. THE HUNGARIAN  
APPARENTLY FELT THAT TIME HAD COME WHEN PKI WOULD HAVE TO  
TAKE STAND AGAINST GOVERNMENT IN INDONESIA AND THE SOONER THIS  
CONFRONTATION TOOK PLACE, THE BETTER.

THREE POSSIBILITIES WERE ENVISAGED BY THE HUNGARIAN FOR  
THE FORESEEABLE FUTURE IN INDONESIA: A TAKEOVER BY RIGHTEST  
ELEMENTS LED BY THE ARMY; AN ESTABLISHMENT OF A NASAKOM-TYPE  
NATIONAL FRONT -- THE SOLUTION FAVORED BY SUKARNO; A PROLETARIAN  
REVOLT RESULTING IN A COMMUNIST VICTORY. THE FIRST COULD NOT  
SUCCEED BECAUSE, EVEN IF THE ARMY TOOK OVER, IT COULD  
NOT SOLVE THE PROBLEMS IT WOULD FACE. THE SECOND MIGHT ROCK  
ALONG IN AN UNEASY BALANCE UNDER SUKARNO LEADERSHIP FOR A TIME  
BUT WAS ALSO CERTAIN TO FAIL. THE THIRD WAS THE ALMOST CERTAIN  
OUTCOME, ALTHOUGH IT MIGHT HAVE TO LIVE THROUGH STAGES OUTLINED.

THE SOVIET

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ACTION	PL	ACTION	None
ASSIGNED TO:		TAKEN	None
NAME OF OFFICER		DATE OF	
OFFICE SYMBOL	FE:SPA:RS:Indonesia	ACTION	12/7/61
		DIRECTIONS	To RM/R File

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Authority NND 949570  
By GP NARA Date 8/4/00

INCOMING TELEGRAM

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36  
Action

(2)

CONFIDENTIAL

Control: 2396  
Rec'd: DEC. 5, 1961  
10:37am

FE Info FROM: MOSCOW

SS TO: Secretary of State  
G NO: 1674, DECEMBER 5, 11 AM

SP SB SO EUR ACTION DEPARTMENT 1674, INFORMATION DJAKARTA 7.

E  
AID FOLLOWING INFORMATION OBTAINED FROM INDONESIAN AMBASSADOR  
P AT DINNER WHICH HE GAVE FOR MEMBERS OF STAFF AND MYSELF  
USIA LAST NIGHT. AIDIT WAS HIGHLY ANNOYED AT ATTACKS ON STALIN  
NSC AND ALBANIA AT SOVIET PARTY CONGRESS. HE TOLD MALIK THAT  
INR KHRUSHCHEV HAD PROMISED TO MAKE FURTHER ATTEMPT SETTLE  
CIA ALBANIAN QUARREL AND WAS SENDING SOVIET MILITARY OFFICER  
NSA TIRANA FOR THIS PURPOSE--HE THOUGHT. SOKOLOVSKY,  
OSD POLISH AMBASSADOR TOLD MALIK NO WARSAW PACT MEETING THIS  
ARMY MONTH BUT POSSIBLY IN JANUARY. MALIK THINKS AIDIT WORRIED  
NAVY AT POSSIBILITY LOSING CONTROL OF INDO PARTY WHICH HAS  
AIR STRONG STALINIST PRO-CHINESE WING.  
AGR MALIK CLAIMS HE CONVINCED SUKARNO THAT SOVIETS HAD NO  
COM LEGITIMATE INTEREST IN INDO OIL INDUSTRY AND ONLY WANTED  
INT TO MAKE TROUBLE. HE SAID SOVIET OFFER OF ASSISTANCE  
REJECTED.

RMR

MALIK CONFIRMED THAT CZECH TRAINING OF JET PILOTS BETTER  
THAN SOVIETS AND THEY HOPED ARRANGE FOR FUTURE TRAINING THERE.  
SOVIET TRAINING HAD BEEN AT INDO REQUEST WHICH MOTIVATED  
BY DESIRE LEARN SOVIET TACTICS. INDOS HAD BEEN UNSUCCESSFUL  
DESPITE REPEATED EFFORTS IN GETTING OFFICER INTO FRUNZE  
ACADEMY.

DESPISTE THEIR OWN DESPERATE NEEDS CHINESE HAD OFFERED SUPPLY FE  
TO INDO BUT THEY HAD BEEN ABLE RECOVER REQUIREMENTS ELSEWHERE

THOMPSON

RJT

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FE: SPA: RSL: indonesian			12/5/61	TO RM/R File

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Authority NND 949570  
By GP NARA Date 8/4/00

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## OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE:  COLLECT  
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Classification

594  
02874

Action: AMEmbassy, DJAKARTA NIACT

b - 58-9813/12-61/1611.98

Origin

Info:

Your 1010. In addition to points made DEPTEL 586 you may wish emphasize to Sukarno that we continue sincerely and earnestly anxious use our influence in finding mutually acceptable solution West New Guinea issue. To this end problem is under constant and active review at high levels with US GOVT. Much will, however, depend upon attitudes of two principal sides toward solution of problem and spirit in which Indonesians and Dutch approach question. It perhaps too early for either side to have developed further their views following upon recent action UNGA but we continue believe solution possible provided there is sufficient determination and sincerity on part both Dutch and Indonesians.

Believe your talk with Sukarno should be pointed toward emphasis on leaving door open to fuller exploration of basis for negotiation. If this can be done, we optimistic that solution can be found.

(2) FYI. While it not possible at this stage to provide you with more specific or detailed guidance, you should know Department most actively engaged in attempting develop viable approach to solution, which we believe

can

Drafted by:  
FE: SPA: AEMmons III: geb 12/6/61

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

FE - John M. Steeves

Clerical: WE - Mr. Stone (in draft)  
UNP - Mr. Sisco (in draft)

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FORM DS-322  
5-61

SIG: CR  
10/11/61  
EEG 6 1961 PM  
with information

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Classification

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Authority NND 949570  
By GP NARA Date 8/4/00

27  
INCOMING TELEGRAM

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43-M  
Action

Control: 4698  
Rec'd: DEC. 8, 1961  
4:55 a.m.

FE

FROM: DJAKARTA

Info

SS TO: Secretary of State

SR

G NO: 1018, DECEMBER 8, NOON (SECTION ONE OF TWO)

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 1018, INFORMATION CINCPAC PRIORITY 134,

USUN PRIORITY 49, THE HAGUE PRIORITY 58, CANBERRA PRIORITY 45,

LONDON PRIORITY 53, NEW DELHI PRIORITY 14.

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

DEPTELS 586 AND 594 - 898-2395  
87416

PRESIDENT SUKARNO TOLD ME TODAY HE WAS "DEEPLY DISAPPOINTED", INDEED HIS HOPE AND FAITH IN US HAD BEEN "SHATTERED" AS A RESULT OF OUR ABANDONMENT OF OUR HISTORIC POLICY OF NEUTRALITY ON WEST NEW GUINEA ISSUE AT UNITED NATIONS. NOW THAT HE HAD RECEIVED FULL REPORT OF MEETING, IT WAS CLEAR WE HAD "TAKEN SIDE OF DUTCH AGAINST INDONESIA." IN LIGHT OF EVERYTHING HE HAD BEEN TOLD BY PRESIDENT AND SECRETARY, IN LIGHT OF SUBANDRI CONVERSATION WITH STEPHENSON, HE FOUND THIS DIFFICULT TO UNDERSTAND.

FOR MANY YEARS HE HAD BEEN PLEADING WITH AMERICA TO ALTER ITS POLICY OF NEUTRALITY AND HAD PROMISED SWITCH IN ATTITUDE OF INDONESIA; NOW WE HAD NOT ONLY FAILED HELP INDONESIA, WE HAD ACTIVELY CAMPAIGNED AGAINST INDONESIAN POSITION AND SUPPORTED DUTCH RIGHT DOWN LINE. PRESIDENT WAS AS EXERCISED OVER THIS AS I HAVE EVER SEEN HIM. HE SPOKE CALMLY BUT WAS OBVIOUSLY TRYING TO RESTRAIN HIMSELF FROM SAYING SOMETHING HE WOULD REGRET. HE DID GO SO FAR AS TO SAY, "THE US HAS BEEN NEUTRAL TOWARD US. WE HAVE BEEN NEUTRAL TOWARD THE US. IF YOU ARE NO LONGER NEUTRAL TOWARD US, WE CAN NO LONGER BE NEUTRAL TOWARD YOU."

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ACTION ASSIGNED TO:	RL	ACTION TAKEN	NOTED
NAME OF OFFICER		DATE OF ACTION	12/8/61
OFFICE SYMBOL	Fe:SPB:AS:Indonesia	DIRECTIONS	miscellaneous to RM/R JCC

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Authority ND 949570  
By GP NARA Date 8/4/00

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Department of State

To: [REDACTED]  
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45-M

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Action

FE

Control: 4739  
Rec'd:

December 8, 1961  
7:11 AM

(S)

Info

FROM: DJAKARTA

SR

TO: Secretary of State

G

NO: 1022, DECEMBER 8, 2 PM

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 1022, INFORMATION CINCPAC  
USUN NIACT 50, THE HAGUE PRIORITY 59, CANBERRA PRIORITY 46,  
LONDON PRIORITY 54.

CINCPAC FOR POLAD

FOR SECRETARY FROM AMBASSADOR

EMBTEL 1018

ALTHOUGH MILITARY LEADERS WILL DO THEIR UTMOST TO PREVENT  
SUKARNO FROM "GIVING THE COMMAND" AT MONDAY MEETING, THEY  
ALL ADMIT THEY HAVE NO ALTERNATIVE BUT TO RESPOND IF HE SHOULD  
DO SO, DESPITE THEIR LACK OF PREPAREDNESS. FURTHER, THERE IS  
LIKELY TO BE IN OPEN MEETING A CERTAIN AMOUNT OF RELUCTANCE, EVEN  
ON PART OF NASUTION, TO TAKE FIRM LEADERSHIP ON BEHALF OF MODERATE  
COURSE, FOR FEAR OF BEING REGARDED AS UNPATRIOTIC OR WEAK-KNEED.

THEREFORE, I AM CONVINCED THERE IS GRAVE AND IMMINENT DANGER OF  
SOME FORM OF MILITARY ACTION BY INDONESIA AIMED AT EITHER  
OUTRIGHT CONQUEST OR CREATION OF SITUATION WHICH WOULD FORCE  
INTERNATIONAL ACTION TO RESTORE PEACE, ADVANCE RECOGNITION  
GOI CLAIMS.

IN SPEAKING TO ME SUKARNO WAS QUIET, EARNEST AND CAREFUL IN  
THIS CHOICE OF WORDS. WHILE HE IS, OF COURSE, A CONSUMMATE ACTOR,  
HE WAS MOST CONVINCING. IN SHORT, HIS DEMEANOR WAS WHOLLY COMPATIBLE  
WITH SINCERITY. IT WOULD BE UNSAFE TO ASSUME THAT HE WAS BLUFFING.

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Date

SUKARNO  
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ASSIGNED TO: FE RL	TAKEN Telegram Drafted Dec 8 (C, IO)
NAME OF OFFICER	DATE OF
OFFICE SYMBOL FE:SPA: RSC	DIRECTIONS
END	ACTION 12/8/61 TO RM/R FILE

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Authority NND 949570  
By GP NARA Date 8/4/00

*24*  
INCOMING TELEGRAM

Department of State

ACTION COPY

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39-31

SECRET

Action

Control:  
Rec'd:

4988  
December 8, 1961  
12:30 p.m.

FE

FROM: DJAKARTA

Info

SS

TO: Secretary of State

SR

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NO: 1024, DECEMBER 8, 10 PM

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ACTION DEPARTMENT 1024, INFORMATION CINCPAC PRIORITY 136,  
USUN NI ACT 51, THE HAGUE PRIORITY 60, CANBERRA PRIORITY  
47, LONDON PRIORITY 55.

CINCPAC FOR POLAD *656.9813*  
*66 n 611.98*

EMBTELS 1018 AND 1022 *656.9813*  
*656.9813*

8 P.M. DECEMBER 8. FOREIGN MINISTER SUBANDRI<sup>13</sup> ASKED  
TO SEE ME AT HIS HOME TONIGHT AND WE WENT GENERALLY OVER  
SAME GROUND I COVERED WITH PRESIDENT THIS MORNING. ADDITIONAL  
POINTS MAY BE SUMMARIZED AS FOLLOWS:

- (S)
1. SUKARNO IS BEGINNING TO HAVE CONVICTION US IS  
AGAIN GUNNING FOR HIM PERSONALLY. HE THOUGHT THIS HAD CLEARED  
UP AS RESULT HIS SATISFACTORY PERSONAL RELATIONS WITH PRESIDENT  
KENNEDY BUT IS AFRAID HE IS AGAIN OUR TARGET.
2. AT MOMENT, DUTCH ARE CONVINCED US BACKING LUNS AND  
COMPLETELY IN SUPPORT NETHERLANDS POSITION; INDOS  
THINK THE SAME. IF US REALLY INTENDS TO BE NEUTRAL, AS  
SUBANDRI IS WILLING TO GIVE US CREDIT FOR, SOME ACTION IS  
ESSENTIAL TO CORRECT THIS DISTORTED IMAGE OF OUR POSITION.
3. UN EXPERIENCE WAS "TOUGHEST FIGHT OF MY LIFE,"  
SUBANDRI SAID, BECAUSE FOR FIRST TIME "WE HAD US AGAINST US."  
HE STILL COULD NOT UNDERSTAND REASONS FOR US ACTION IN OPPOSING  
INDIAN RESOLUTION AND GIVING DUTCH COMPLETE OUT TO WITHDRAW

Copy No (S) 114-115-116

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Date 12/8/61

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ACTION ASSIGNED TO NAME OF OFFICER OFFICE SYMBOL	ACTION TAKEN DATE OF ACTION TO RM/R
RE: SPA: RS Sandquist	12/8/61 File number

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By GP NARA Date 8/4/00

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INCOMING AIRGRAM

Department of State

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Action

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611-98/12-1161

PAGE 1 OF 1 PAGES

EVR-22

Info

PMR-2

INR-8

FE-7

IO-7

MC-1

S/P-1

S/S-25

P-5

G-2

CIA-16

USIA-15

OSD-30

Army-Mel

Navy-4

FROM: DOEN

TO: Secstate WASHINGTON

NO: A-690

INFO: Ambabassy DJAKARTA A-10

Ambabassy THE HAGUE A-51

Date Sent: DECEMBER 11, 1961  
Rec'd:

XIR 798.56  
656.9813

Ambabassy PARIS A-215  
Ambabassy COOPENHAGEN A-35

air-2 PARIS FOR USRO, STOESSEL AND MC GUIRE.

NSA-4

NSC-1

Bassler East Asian desk Fonoff told Imhoff December 8 he considered present U.S. policy in Indonesia absolutely sound. He said Dutch had sought obtain German support and intervention with USG for recent New Guinea plan and were considerably annoyed at German refusal to give endorsement. Bassler said he strongly disposed to support Indonesian purchase arms in Western countries, since Indonesia otherwise would turn to Bloc for such purchases. He called Imhoff's attention to Copenhagen report in Deutsche Zeitung of December 5 stating Dutch had sharply protested at NATO Danish delivery 5000 machine guns to Indonesia, and would similarly protest West German delivery machine guns.

DOWLING

POL:ITSweet:pab 12/9/61

CDXidd

Coord:POL:RDavis

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ACTION	ACTION TAKEN	REPRODUCTION FROM THIS COPY IS PROHIBITED UNLESS "UNCLASSIFIED"
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OFFICE SYMBOL		
15K Phillips	4/12/62	FILE

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By GP NARA Date 8/4/00

Air Pouch PRIORITY	OFFICIAL USE ONLY (Security Classification)		DO NOT TYPE IN THIS SPACE 611.981/12-1261
FOREIGN SERVICE DESPATCH			X R 798.00 XR 121.986
FROM : Anembassy DJAKARTA	390 DESP. NO.	December 12, 1961	
TO : THE DEPARTMENT OF STATE, WASHINGTON. S/S 10-86/ APR			DATE
REF : CA-416, November 8, 1961	DEC 14 1961		
59 For Dept. Use Only	ACTION REC'D 12-20	DEPT. IN Rm/R-2 INR-7 S/8-1 G-1 OPR-1 P-3 F OTHER O CIA-11 21510-10 050-5 Army 4 Navy 4 12-20 CIA-11 21510-10 050-5 Army 4 Navy 4 7 NSA-4	
SUBJECT:	Department Request for Evaluation of Information on Current Developments, and Policies in the Political Field		

The Embassy is being sufficiently informed of current developments, and policies in the political field; the volume of information is more than adequate and there appears to be no duplication.

"Current Foreign Relations" (CFR) is distributed to the Political, Economic and Consular Sections as well as to the PAO. This publication, which takes about 12 days to reach this post, serves the largest number of officers in the Political Section, namely nine. It takes about three weeks for the copy to reach the last man on the distribution list, who still finds it informative.

The Embassy considers that articles of current interest are more useful than Intelligence Summary items. It also finds articles about the Far East of greater use than those concerning other geographic areas, which are nevertheless valuable for broad background purposes. In general, the notes and articles are equally useful. CFR does contain considerable information which is not available from other sources, and has improved considerably in the past six months. The Embassy has no substantive criticisms to make regarding the style, format and coverage of the magazine.

For the Ambassador:

*Roland H. Bushner*  
T  
Rolland H. Bushner  
Counselor of Embassy for Political Affairs

CLEARANCE:

ECON (in draft)  
ADMIN (in draft)  
PAO (in draft)

*5/6-0*

*M. Speck*  
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POL:HLH:humann:ae  
REVISER  
*7/6/63*

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*24*  
OUTGOING TELEGRAM Department of State

INDICATE:  COLLECT  
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1961 DEC 13 PM 5 16

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Classification

*616*

ACTION: Amembassy DJAKARTA

*523*

Origin

Info:

RPTD INFO: THE HAGUE

0 6 0 9 1

Dept spokesman gave following reply Dutch newsman question  
re Subandrio statements linking US-WNG dispute carried Reuters  
Djakarta thirteenth: QUOTE American position WNG dispute stated  
very clearly Bingham UN. We stand for any resolution problem that  
would be mutually acceptable both parties and which in spirit UN  
Charter. We have no rpt no other interest matter except that this  
dispute friendly countries settled peacefully. END QUOTE **BALL**

(4)

*Ball*  
*for Luns*

*\*HNL*

Microfilmed by RMF

Drafted by:

FE/P: JGrensky: klf - 12/13/61

Telegraphic transmission and  
classification approved by:

FE/P - A. E. Manell

Cleareances:

WE - Mr. Beaudry

SPA - Mr. Lindquist

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FORM DS-322  
S-61

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24  
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39-M

SECRET

Action

Control: 17710  
Rec'd: December 31, 1961  
9:46 a.m.

FE

Info

FROM: DJAKARTA

SS

TO: Secretary of State

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SP

NO: 1153, DECEMBER 31, 9 AM

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PRIORITY  
LIMITED DISTRIBUTION,  
DEPTEL 679 - 798-586  
Note: 11/28/61  
656-9913  
656-9913  
656-9913

I HAVE ALREADY ACCEPTED INVITATION ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT TO SULAWESI AND FOR NUMBER OF REASONS DO NOT BELIEVE WOULD BE DESIRABLE TO BACK OUT.

AS DEPT HAS RECOGNIZED I WOULD FIND IT EXTREMELY DIFFICULT, AS DOYEN OF CORPS, RENEGE ON INVITATION ACCOMPANY PRESIDENT:

I HAVE NEVER FAILED ACCOMPANY HIM ON PREVIOUS TOURS AND TO DO SO NOW, AFTER HAVING ACCEPTED, WOULD REQUIRE MORE CREDIBLE EVIDENCE FAILING HEALTH THAN I FEAR I WOULD BE ABLE TO MUSTER.

I AM INFORMED TRIP WILL BE ONLY FOUR (NOT TEN) DAYS DURATION AND TENTATIVE SCHEDULE RECEIVED FROM PROTOCOL INDICATES MAIN EVENTS AS ONE MASS MEETING, A CULTURAL PERFORMANCE, A VISIT TO UNIVERSITY AND SIGHTSEEING. I ALSO UNDERSTAND PRESIDENT MAY LEAD GROUP TO CERTAIN FORMER REBEL AREAS. THERE IS NO INDICATION OF ROMAN CIRCUS WHIP UP ON WNG BUT I NATURALLY EXPECT PRESIDENT WILL ADDRESS HIMSELF THIS SUBJECT WITH USUAL ORATORICAL FLOURISHES.

WHILE SCENE COULD SHIFT, PRESENT ENCOURAGING PROSPECTS FOR GOI-DUTCH TALKS AND IMPROVED GOI-US RELATIONS DUE OUR EFFORTS TO BRING TWO SIDES TOGETHER LEADS ME BELIEVE PRESIDENT WILL EXERCISE CERTAIN RESTRAINTS, PARTICULARLY IF I AM PRESENT.

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OFFICE SYMBOL	ACTION	DIRECTIONS
FELSPARS	12/31/61	TO RM/R

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